

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 5215

EXDIS

FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: JULY 5 DEVELOPMENTS ON STAGE III TIMING

1. DURING THE DAY ON JULY 5 FRENCH DELEGATION RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS TO PUT FORWARD COMPROMISE PROPOSAL ON STAGE III DATE INVOLVING TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON JULY 28 ON CONDITION THAT ALL STAGE II WORK BE COMPLETED WITHIN A SPECIFIED PERIOD OF TIME (SEE GENEVA 5107). AFTER FRENCH INTENTIONS BECAME KNOWN, FRG AND OTHEF MAJOR ALLIES DECIDED THAT THEIR REACTIONS WOULD HINGE ON SUCCESS IN ACHIEVING SOLUTIONS TO THREE POLITICAL POINTS WHICH FRG HAD EARLIER PRESENTED TO SOVIETS AS THEIR CONDITION FOR PUTTING FORWARD A SIMILAR COMPROMISE SUGGESTION ON TIMING: I.E. QRR, PEACEFUL CHANGE, AND THE FORMULATION EXTENDING CSCE BENEFITS TO BERLIN, WHICH HAS NOW BECOME KNOWN AS THE "EUROPE CLAUSE." (GENEVA 5138)

2. INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS ON JULY 5 RESULTED IN TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON QRR LANGUAGE, FRG-SOVIET AGREEMENT ON FORMULATION FOR "EUROPE CLSUSE," AND VIRTUAL COMPLETION OF TEXT ON CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP. AGREEMENT ON PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE WAS, HOWEVER, BLOCKED BY ROMANIAN DELEGATION, WHICH CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT US-PROPOSED FORMULATION BE MODIFIED TO PLACE MORE EMPHASIS ON SOVEREIGNTY OF INDIVIDUAL STATES. ALTHOUGH SOVIETS TOLD US PRIVATELY THEY HAD RECEIVED WORD THAT ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HAD AGREED TO DROP OBJECTIONS TO THE FOR-

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MULATION, ROMANIAN DELEGATION IN GENEVA HAD NOT RECEIVED

SUCH INSTRUCTIONS BY THE TIME DISCUSSION OF THIS POINT AD-
JOURNED AT 2030 LOCAL TIME.

3. IN ABSENCE OF AGREEMENT ON PEACEFUL CHANGE, FRG, UK
AND OTHERS DECIDED NOT TO GIVE FULL SUPPORT TO FRENCH COM-
PROMISE PROPOSAL AT MEETING OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE ON
EVENING OF JULY 5. IN COMMENTING ON FRENCH IDEA IN
COORDINATING COMMITTEE DISCUSSION, BOTH UK AND FRG REPS
SAID THAT, WHILE THEY FOUND THE FRENCH SUGGESTION INTERESTING,
THEY BELIEVED THAT FURTHER PROGRESS WAS NECESSARY BEFORE
DECISION, EITHER FORMAL OR TENTATIVE, COULD BE TAKEN ON
STAGE III DATE. BOTH, HOWEVER, EXPRESSED APPRECIATION
FOR THE GREAT DEAL OF PROGRESS RECORDED IN RECENT DAYS.
ON THIS BASIS, THEY SAID, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO TAKE A
DECISION ON STAGE III DATE WITHIN A VERY SHORT TIME.

4. US REP SUPPORTED FRGHOND IK PRESENTATIGCS BY AGREEING
THAT IT WAS NOT YET POSSIBLE TO REACH CONFERENCE CONSENSUS
ON EITHER FORMAL OR CONDITIONAL DATE FOR STAGE III. US REP
JOINED UK AND FRG IN CALLING FRENCH IDEA INTERESTING AND
SUGGESTING THAT IF PROGRESS CONTINUED IT WOULD BE USEFUL
TO REFLECT ON THE SUGGESTION AS A POSSIBLE COMPROMISE DEVICE.
US REP SAID THAT IT REMAINS OUR POSITION THAT IT IS POSSIBLE
AND DESIRABLE TO CONVENE STAGE III BEFORE THE END OF JULY.

5. WHILE VIRTUALLY ALL WESTERN DELEGATIONS TOOK LINE THAT
IT WAS POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE TO HOLD STAGE III IN JULY,
OTHER NATO DELS TOOK POSITIONS ON THE FRENCH
PROPOSAL. FULL SUPPORT WAS EXTENDED BY DENMARK, NORWAY,
ITALY AND ICELAND. SEVERAL OTHER ALLIED DELS SAID THEY FOUND
THE IDEA INTERESTING, BUT COULD NOT ACCEPT EVEN A COMPROMISE
SUGGESTION UNTIL MORE PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE ON SUBSTANTIVE
ISSUES. DUTCH AND TURKISH DELS REJECTED THE IDEA, SAYING THEY
COULD NOT AGREE EVEN CONDITIONALLY TO A STAGE III DATE AT THIS
TIME.

6. COMMENT: MOMENTUM IS BUILDING IN DIRECTION OF
ACCEPTANCE OF MAJORITY OF WESTERN, NEUTRAL AND WARSAW
PACT PARTICIPANTS ON SOMETHING LIKE FRENCH COMPROMISE
PROPOSAL. ASSUMING PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE CAN BE
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REGISTERED EARLY IN THE WEEK, MOST MAJOR COUNTRIES WILL
PROBABLY AGREE TO GO ALONG SOON THEREAFTER. A CONSENSUS ON
EVEN CONDITIONAL AGREEMENT TO HOLD STAGE III ON JULY 28
WILL NOT, HOWEVER, BE POSSIBLE IMMEDIATELY. SEVERAL COUNTRIES
WILL CONTINUE TO WITHHOLD AGREEMENT AND IT IS NOT YET
CLEAR HOW LONG IT WILL TAKE TO OVERCOME ALL OBJECTIONS.
THE TURKISH SITUATION CONTINUES TO BE THE MOST DIFFICULT.
THE TURKS ARE COMPLETELY ISOLATED ON THEIR DEMAND FOR

SPECIAL CONDITIONS FOR APPLICATION OF CBMS TO TURKISH
TERRITORY AND NO PROGRESS TOWARDS A COMPROMISE IS IN SIGHT.
OTHER HOLDOUTS MAY INCLUDE THE DUTCH AND PERHAPS THE
MALTESE. THUS, ALTHOUGH AGREEMENT TO CONCLUDE CSCE HAS COME
TANTALIZINGLY CLOSE, A CONSENSUS ON A JULY DATE FOR STAGE
III IS NOT YET ASSURED. MANY DETAILS REMAIN TO BE TIED
DOWN AND ANY ONE OF SEVERAL ISSUES COULD BLOCK CONSENSUS
AT THE LAST MINUTE. DALE

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